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POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-eighth year

Letter dated 7 July 1993 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against apartheid to the Secretary-General

An International Conference on Southern Africa: Making Hope a Reality, organized by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, was held in London on 14 and 15 June 1993. The Conference was held in connection with honouring Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, C.R., on his eightieth birthday, and was jointly convened by the Archbishop and Mwalimu Dr. Julius Nyerere. The Special Committee against Apartheid was a co-sponsor. I opened the Conference. In my introduction, I emphasized the support of the United Nations for the ongoing negotiations process in South Africa and the importance which the United Nations attaches to its success.

The International Conference was attended by approximately 450 participants, including the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth Secretary-General and the Executive Secretary of the Southern Africa Development Community. A number of foreign ministers and deputy foreign ministers of African States, ambassadors and diplomats of African and other States and the representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania as well as the representatives of many anti-apartheid and solidarity groups also attended the Conference.

I have the honour, on behalf of the Special Committee, to submit the Declaration of the International Conference on Southern Africa: Making Hope a Reality (annex I), the report of the Secretary of the Conference (annex II) and

* A/48/50.

the Appeal of the Conveners of the Conference (annex II, appendix) and to kindly request that these documents be issued as a document of the General Assembly, under item 38 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ibrahim GAMBARI
Chairman of the Special
Committee against Apartheid

ANNEX I

Declaration of the International Conference on Southern Africa: Making Hope a Reality, held in London on 14 and 15 June 1993

The theme "Southern Africa: Making Hope a Reality" reflects both the spirit of the International Conference and the understanding of the issues at stake. There exists a profound hope for the future of southern Africa which arises from the knowledge that a genuine end to apartheid will result in a real improvement in the quality of life not only for the Black majority in South Africa but also for all the peoples of the southern Africa region.

But there is also a deep appreciation of the realities of the situation; a recognition of the serious obstacles which will have to be overcome; and an acknowledgement of the many challenges which will have to be faced if the vision of a new southern Africa is to become a reality.

The greatest single obstacle is the fact that apartheid is still alive. Every effort must be made to support and encourage those striving for the democratic transformation of South Africa. The international community must spare no effort in ensuring that at the earliest possible opportunity the people of South Africa can exercise their democratic rights in the country's first ever one-person, one-vote elections and that it must play an appropriate role in guaranteeing that the electoral process is "free and fair". It is these elections which should usher in a new era in South African history leading to the end of apartheid and the creation of a new united, non-racial and democratic society.

The challenges facing the new democratic government in South Africa will be immense. It will have to embark on programmes of reconstruction and development in order to eradicate the injustices of apartheid which have done so much harm to the people of South Africa and to put into effect policies which will overcome its legacies.

A democratic South Africa opens up the vision of a new future for the southern Africa region as a whole. It is a region which has tremendous potential, not least because of the remarkable qualities of its peoples. Yet their aspirations have been frustrated by the destructive consequences of apartheid South Africa's policies of aggression and destabilization, which have caused so much havoc and misery throughout southern Africa.

The prospect exists of a new era of reconstruction and development throughout southern Africa. A democratic South Africa together with the countries of the region, building on the collective experience of the front-line States and the Southern Africa Development Community, will be in a position to work out a comprehensive programme for balanced and equitable development that will enrich the lives of all the peoples of southern Africa. This in turn will help to create conditions of common security between and within the countries of the region.

The efforts of the peoples of the region to build a new southern Africa must now inspire the international community, as did their struggles against

racial tyranny. New forms of solidarity are now required to address the challenges of the future.

London was the venue of the meeting in June 1959 which gave birth to what was to become a unique movement of international solidarity which provided expression to the moral outrage against apartheid, provided a framework for action against external collaboration with the apartheid system as well as providing support for those resisting the evil system. Its greatest strength lay in the fact that above all it consisted of ordinary people from all walks of life who were determined to play their part in ridding the world of apartheid.

A new movement of solidarity is now required to support the people of southern Africa in their efforts to make their hopes a reality. This International Conference - "Southern Africa: Making Hope a Reality" - will have succeeded in its objectives if it has helped to accelerate the process of democratic change in South Africa and sow the seeds for a new movement of solidarity.

(Signed)
Archbishop Trevor HUDDLESTON C.R.

(Signed)
Mwalimu Dr. Julius K. NYERERE

ANNEX II

Report of the Secretary of the International Conference on Southern Africa: Making Hope a Reality

From Apartheid Destruction to a New Era of Reconstruction and Development throughout Southern Africa

The International Conference "Southern Africa: Making Hope a Reality" took place at Church House, London, on Monday, 14 June and Tuesday, 15 June 1993. It was convened by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, C.R. and Mwalimu Julius Nyerere with the purpose of addressing the twin objectives of:

- Supporting and promoting the process of transforming South Africa from an apartheid State to a united, non-racial democracy;

- Addressing the need for a new agenda of international solidarity with the people of southern Africa.

The International Conference was organized in cooperation with the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and with the full support of the Organization of African Unity. A statement issued by the Joint Conveners in advance set out the context in which the International Conference had been convened and is attached to this report as an appendix.

The high-level participation in the Conference was an expression, in itself, of the importance attached to these objectives. Among those present were senior representatives of the United Nations and the specialized agencies of the United Nations system, the Commonwealth, the Organization of African Unity and the Southern Africa Development Community; also present were foreign ministers and other political leaders from the front-line and Southern Africa Development Community countries together with a number of the most prominent leaders of the anti-apartheid community within South Africa. The International Conference was attended by some 450 participants from over 40 countries, including Governments, parliamentarians and representatives of church and other religious bodies, trade unions, local government, the business community and, in particular, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations.

Messages of support for the International Conference and its objectives were received from Heads of State from southern Africa, from many specialized agencies of the United Nations system, as well as from numerous other organizations and individuals.

The International Conference met in plenary. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere delivered the keynote address at the opening session which provided the framework for the Conference's deliberations; five plenary sessions were held on specific themes. A total of 19 keynote speakers and other major contributors addressed the proceedings.

Both speakers and participants stressed that the initiative in convening the International Conference was most timely. Despite all the obstacles ahead, it was recognized that there is a real possibility that a genuine end to

apartheid is now coming on to the horizon which could usher in a new era of reconstruction and development throughout southern Africa. This is the cause for hope for southern Africa and the Conference was charged with examining and working out how this hope can become a reality.

The International Conference therefore focused on its first objective by examining how the international community could best promote democratic change in South Africa. It was privileged to benefit from the wisdom and understanding of the South African participants, who were in the forefront of the struggle for democratic change. They brought to the Conference their insights into the complexity of the process of transition now under way in South Africa. This process continues to be extremely fragile and it was agreed that there is an urgent need for rapid and fundamental progress to be made towards the transformation of South Africa into a united, non-racial and democratic society.

The United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by consensus at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly in December 1989, represents the internationally agreed basis for a political settlement in South Africa. In this context, the Conference recognized that to achieve rapid progress in the negotiations and to contribute to the democratic transformation of South Africa there was a need for the maximum possible support to be provided for those promoting democratic change, as well as the application of effective pressure on the Pretoria regime and others resisting democratic change. Major priorities which were identified included:

(1) The need for agreement to be reached immediately both on:

(a) An early date for South Africa's first ever one-person, one-vote elections;

(b) Establishing transitional structures with executive powers, especially in relation to the joint control of the security forces;

(2) The need for the electoral process to be genuinely "free and fair" and seen to be so. An independent electoral commission needs to be established to conduct the elections with appropriate international participation. International supervision, monitoring and verification of the election process will be required, including certifying that the elections were genuinely "free and fair";

(3) The need to end political violence. One contribution to this would be a commitment to ensure that the size of the United Nations and related observer missions is sufficiently expanded and that their mandates are strengthened and made more comprehensive.

It was recognized that when South Africa has been transformed into a democratic society, the long era of colonial and racial domination of the African continent will have ended. South Africa would then be able to join the rest of independent Africa and to make its own contribution to Africa and the world as a non-racial and democratic State.

This will also have the potential of creating conditions of peace and security in the region and provide the peoples of southern Africa with their first genuine opportunity to begin the enormous task of reconstruction and equitable development for their mutual benefit.

It was stressed that the liberation movements, Governments and peoples of southern Africa have, through their common struggles, advanced the cause of African freedom. Their efforts have been strengthened and reinforced by regional cooperation through the structures of the front-line States and the Southern Africa Development Community, as well as by the support received from OAU, the Commonwealth and the United Nations. Above all it was the courage and determination of the peoples of southern Africa in resisting colonial and white minority rule which won independence for Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and, most recently, Namibia. It was also recognized that it was their determination to resist South African aggression, especially in Angola, which helped to open the way to the current process of transition in southern Africa.

The Conference examined the process of transition to a new southern Africa and gave serious consideration to its impact on Africa, to the political and strategic issues at stake, as well as to the economic, developmental and environmental challenges.

The Conference drew inspiration from the speakers from the front-line and SADC States. They stressed the need for the active participation of the international community in supporting the transition process taking place both in South Africa and throughout the region, since this would lay the basis for a new era of common security and balanced and coordinated regional development. In this context grave concern was expressed at developments in Angola. UNITA's systematic violations of the Bicesse Accords and its refusal to accept the results of the United Nations-monitored elections has caused immense suffering for the people of Angola, but also created a most dangerous precedent for the peace process in Mozambique and in South Africa itself. The United Nations and the international community as a whole, it was stressed, had an obligation not only to support the process of transition in southern Africa but also to ensure that the results of democratic elections are respected and that conditions of peace are ensured.

It was agreed that as the process of transition unfolds in southern Africa the rest of the international community has to be ready to respond to new challenges. New forms of international solidarity will be required to help meet the needs of the changing situation. The main task of the International Conference, therefore, was to address this situation by giving momentum to the process of drawing up a new agenda of international solidarity with the people of the region as they strive to build a new southern Africa.

The International Conference recognized that southern Africa is a region rich with potential. Its peoples have demonstrated remarkable qualities of courage and determination in resisting apartheid and white minority rule and in striving for non-racialism and national reconciliation. It is also a region endowed with many natural resources, including mineral wealth, agricultural land and sources of energy. Already, through the Southern African Development Coordination Conference - now being transformed into the Southern Africa

Development Community - valuable experience has been gained of the potential for regional cooperation and coordination.

The International Conference examined the tremendous challenges now facing southern Africa and the obstacles which stand in the way of the region realizing its full potential. It was noted, in particular, that there are still elements in South Africa and southern Africa, some of which enjoy substantial external support, which are resisting genuine democratic change and do not share the vision of a new future for the region. They continue to constitute a serious obstacle to making hope a reality for southern Africa.

Speakers at the International Conference sought to identify the new tasks facing the region. Within South Africa, a new democratic government will, as its main priority, have to embark on a major programme of restructuring, reconstruction and development, so that it can address the legacies of apartheid and meet the aspirations of all those who have been impoverished as a result of decades of apartheid rule. But at the same time the region faces the task of overcoming the destructive long-term, as well as short-term, consequences of apartheid aggression and destabilization. For example, major programmes of resettlement and rehabilitation will be required to address the needs of the millions of people who have been displaced. Moreover, extensive resources will be required to tackle the needs for reconstruction and development across the region and substantial international support will have to be forthcoming.

The International Conference recognized the very positive role which international solidarity could play in supporting the efforts of the peoples of southern Africa as they engage in the urgent task of reconstruction and promoting equitable development throughout the region. It was recognized,therefore, that the world-wide solidarity movement against apartheid must begin the process of transforming itself into a new movement of solidarity which can unite all those committed to economic and social justice throughout southern Africa.

The International Conference was presented with a draft Strategy Document entitled "Southern Africa: Towards a New Agenda for International Solidarity" in order to promote debate and discussion on the issues at stake. It was proposed that this new agenda should include the following:

- Ensuring that southern Africa remains a major priority for the international community;

- Mobilizing support for the Governments and peoples of southern Africa in their efforts to promote a new era of reconstruction and development throughout the region;

- Encouraging sustainable and balanced development within a framework of common security and peace in the region;

- Campaigning so that trade, investment and aid relationships are such that they are beneficial to the region as a whole and do not reinforce existing inequalities;

- Developing a capacity to help shape the policies of Governments, institutions like the European Community, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank; as well as banks and transnational corporations, so that they are supportive of the vision of a new southern Africa;

- Ensuring that the public is educated and informed about developments in southern Africa;

- Encouraging and promoting genuine people-to-people solidarity.

Participants welcomed the draft Strategy Document which, it is envisaged, will be published in the near future, having been revised to take into account the contributions at the Conference and other submissions.

The International Conference closed with the presentation of the Conference Declaration which, itself, concluded by stating that "A new movement of solidarity is now required to support the people of southern Africa in their efforts to make their hopes a reality."

(Signed) Abdul S. MINTY
Conference Secretary

15 June 1993

APPENDIX

Appeal of the Conveners of the International Conference on Southern Africa: Making Hope a Reality, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, C.R. and Mwalimu Dr. Julius K. Nyerere

On 26 June, South Africa Freedom Day, 1959, we addressed the public meeting in London which launched the Anti-Apartheid Movement. This small event gave birth to what became a world-wide solidarity movement which succeeded in inspiring millions of people into action against apartheid. Now, over three decades later, South Africa has embarked on a process of transition. Although constantly under the threat of political violence, the prospect exists, within the next 12 months, of the country's first ever one-person, one-vote elections. They will mark the first breakthrough in the transformation of South Africa from an apartheid State to a democratic society. They could also open the way to a new environment throughout southern Africa, in which peace and democracy can flourish. The efforts of the Governments and peoples of the region can then be focused on overcoming the destructive consequences of decades of apartheid policies.

The process of transition now under way in South Africa, however fragile it may seem, is a remarkable achievement for the people of South Africa and of southern Africa as a whole, as is their insistence on striving for their human dignity and fundamental rights. However, international pressure, generated by the world-wide anti-apartheid movement, has also played a crucial role in compelling the South African regime to accept the necessity for democratic change.

Despite all the obstacles ahead, this is now a time for hope for southern Africa. We have therefore agreed to act as joint conveners of this International Conference to help in "Making Hope a Reality".

The immediate objective of the Conference will be to focus on the role which the international community can play in promoting the democratic transformation of South Africa. At this critical stage in South Africa's history it is essential that the international community maintain its vigilance, play a more effective role in curbing political violence, continue to press for a political settlement and, when agreement is reached for democratic elections, ensure that the electoral process is genuinely free and fair. The hope for a new future for southern Africa can only become a reality if rapid progress is made towards the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

But the major task of the Conference will be to give momentum to the process of drawing up a new agenda of international solidarity, an agenda which will address the need to support the people of South Africa and the region as they strive for a new southern Africa - the prospect of an end to South Africa's attempts at military and economic domination and instead a new era of common security and balanced and coordinated regional economic development.

Now, at this time for hope, the need for solidarity with the people of southern Africa is greater than ever before. But in order to generate such solidarity there are many questions we need to address:

- How do we continue to inspire a popular movement of solidarity which can be sustained beyond the end of legally enforced apartheid?

- How do we keep southern Africa as a major priority for the international community?

- How do we ensure effective programmes of information and education so that the public knows the truth about events in southern Africa?

- How do we help to shape the policies of Governments, of institutions like the European Community, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and transnational corporations and banks, so that they meet the needs of the people of the region?

- How do we develop new linkages of people-to-people solidarity which will help build new forms of international cooperation?

- How do we promote programmes of aid, trade and investment which will be beneficial to the region and not reinforce existing inequalities?

- How do we relate our solidarity with southern Africa to the need to combat racism world wide, especially at a time when it is on the offensive in Europe?

These are some of the many questions which need to be addressed in developing a new agenda for international solidarity. The International Conference aims to make a positive contribution to this process and above all to help make the hope of a new vision for southern Africa a reality.

(Signed)
Mwalimu Dr. Julius K. NYERERE

(Signed)
Archbishop Trevor HUDDLESTON, C.R.